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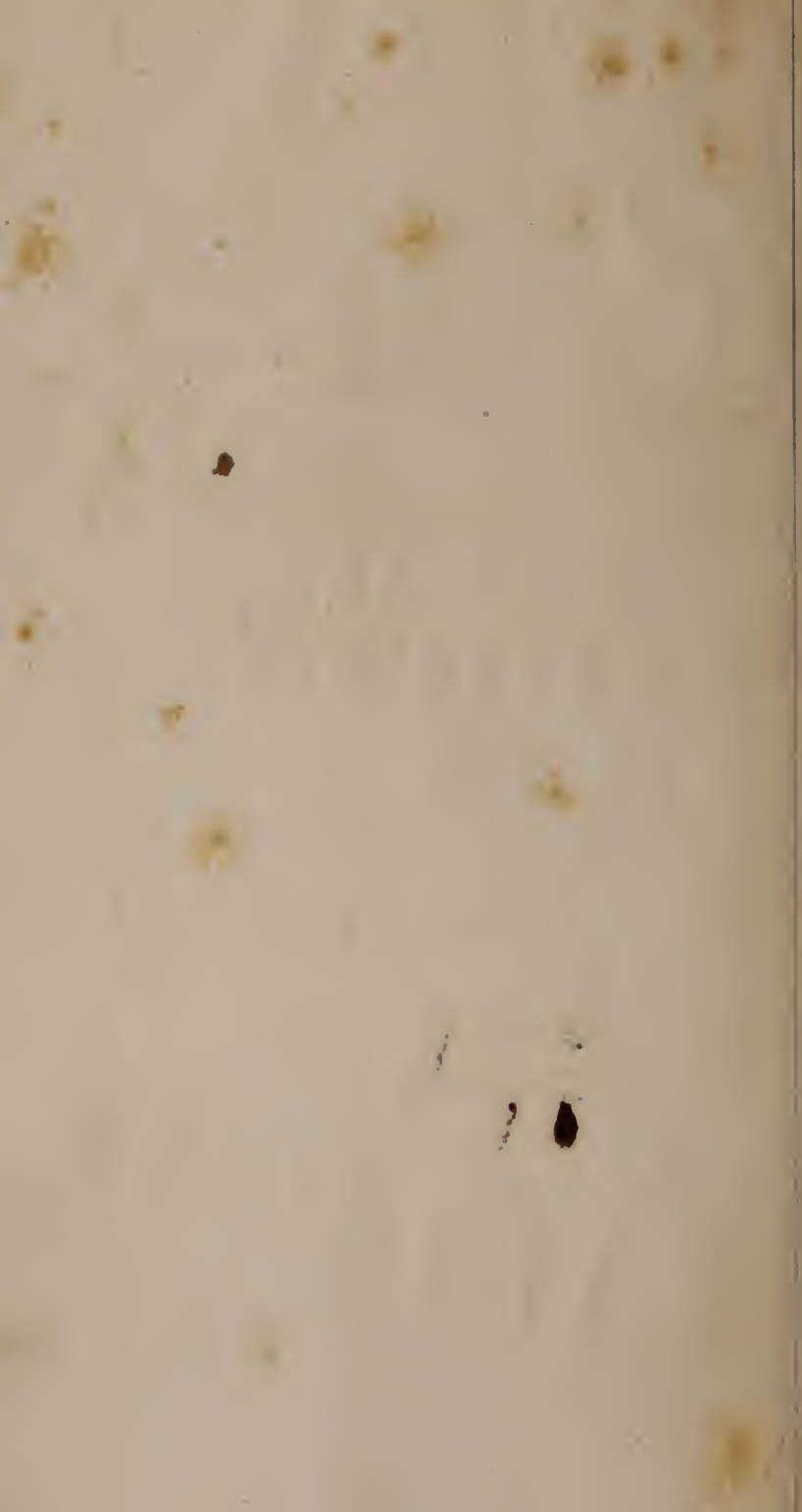
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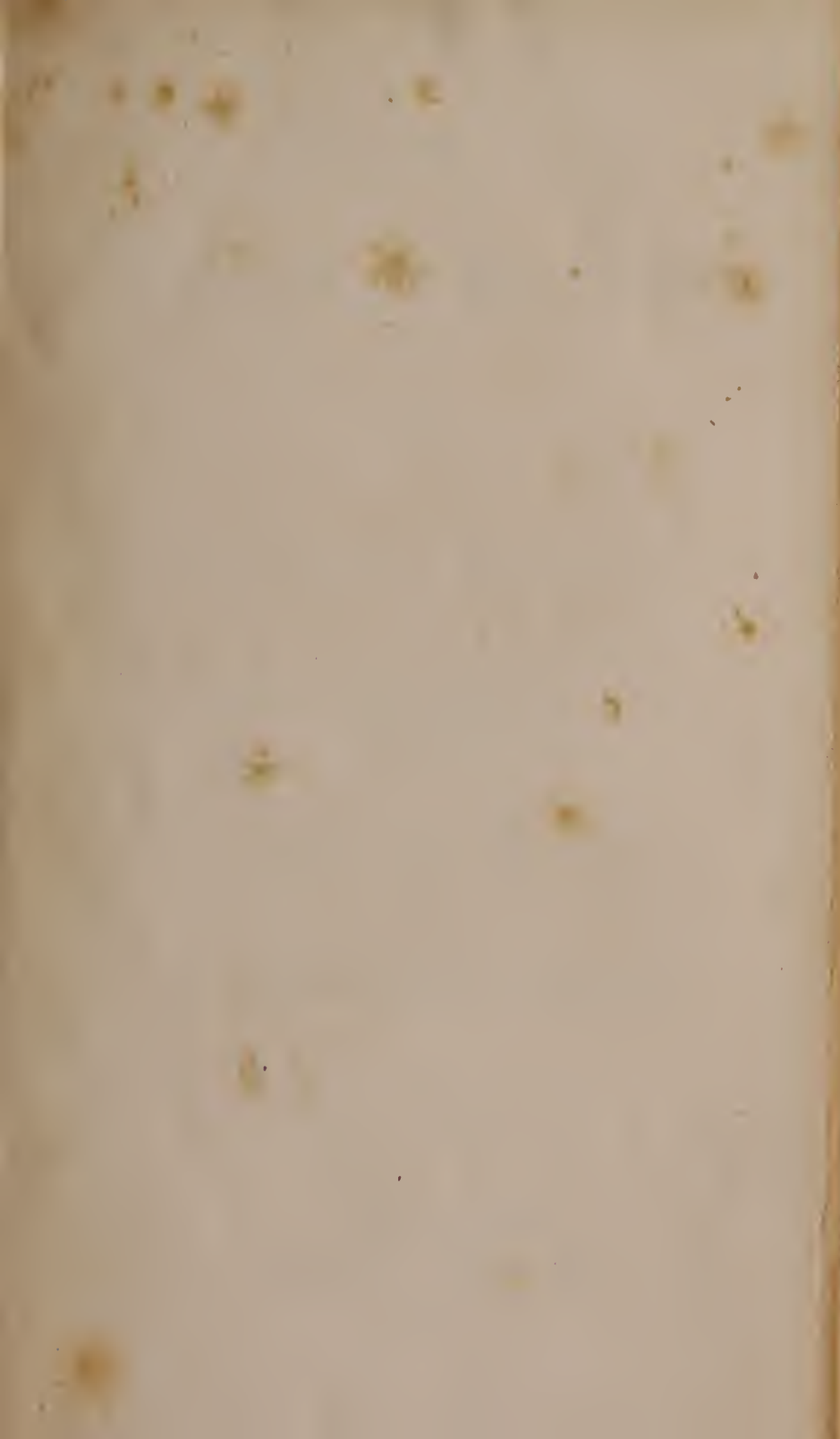
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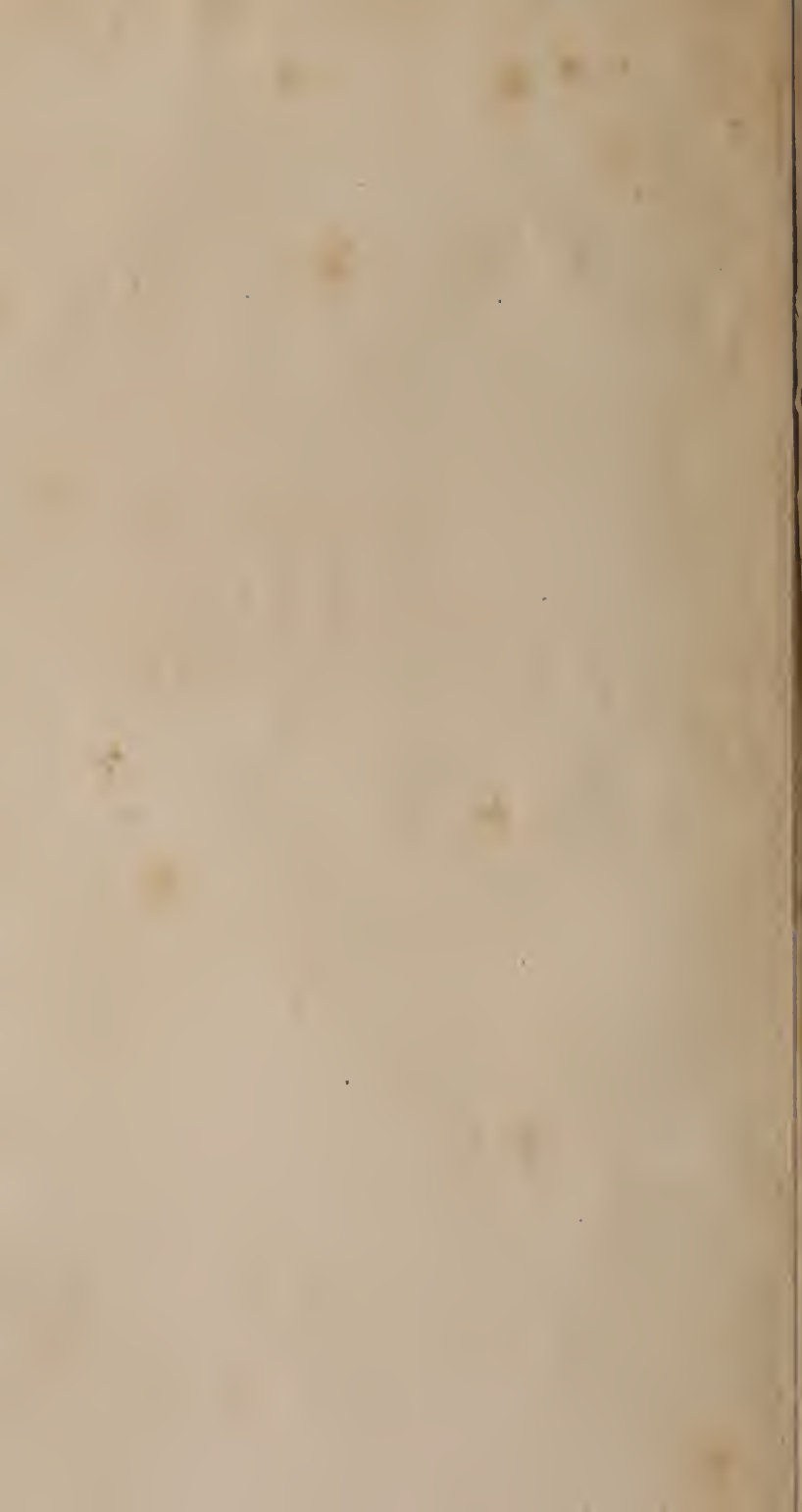
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THE following article has been communicated for publication, by a very intelligent friend of African Colonization. The amiable temper, as well as deep reflection of the writer, and the obvious value of many of his suggestions, will commend it to public consideration. We have seldom perused a composition more remarkable for perspicuity and simplicity of style; and we venture to predict, that few who begin to read it, will fail to read to the end.

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THE MONUMENT:

A DREAM OF FUTURE SCENES.

Sleep hath its own world—

And a wide realm of wild reality.—BYRON.

To the Reader :

Dreams are generally thought to be of little consequence, by the more practical and judicious part of community; and I have dreamed many a dream myself, that I am disposed to regard in the same light.

Notwithstanding the general incredulity of the Public upon this subject, however, it must be admitted that the fates of many individuals have been seriously affected from the influence of dreams; and that the impressions received from them, have sometimes led to very singular discoveries, and been productive of very important results.

I have thought it possible that the Dream of Future Scenes, might meet with a favorable reception; and have concluded to offer it to the Public.

THE AUTHOR.

THE DREAM.

It appeared to the Dreamer of this Dream, that he had been seven hundred years absent from all the scenes of his early existence, wandering among distant worlds; and now returned, was breathing once more the atmosphere of his native earth. Its

various aspects seemed changed, much changed in the long period of his distant travel. Gliding as an ethereal spirit along, he glances at the happy faces of the busy inhabitants; but stays not to talk with any until arrested in his hasty survey by the sudden appearance of a form and face of the whitest marble.

When last he saw that face, though animated then by a spirit pure and serene, it was as pale as now. Since then, many hundred years had elapsed, and great changes had been wrought in the earth. But that form, and that face! how came they there in sculptured marble? What deeds could that frail one have done that her memory should be cherished thus in after years?

These were the thoughts that ran through the mind of the Dreamer, as he gazed upon a marble statue that stood upon a low granite pedestal. The drapery of the statue was simple and chaste, and the eyes were meekly toward the heavens. There was a fountain of limpid water near, and it flowed into a circular basin around the monument, and formed a miniature lake that was fringed with evergreens and flowers, and surrounded with ornamental and shaded walks. And there were many who came and stood round about, and gazed upon that marble face: and then they looked up toward heaven: and when they turned away, there was the moisture of tears in their eyes, as of tears of gratitude, too deep for utterance. And many of those who came and looked upon that face, were Africans. And there was one among them whose hair was white with age: and though he was very black, he seemed a man of thought; and of him the Dreamer enquires—"canst thou tell me why there is no inscription upon that pedestal, to tell whose statue it bears?"

One whose name is upon the hearts of millions (replied the aged man), needs no epitaph on stone.

And how came her name, enquired the Dreamer, upon the hearts of others?

Time was, returned the aged man, when many of my own race were so low on the scale of being, that they were elevated by being held in bondage among a more enlightened and happy people.

Though taken from a state of utter barbarism, by this system of slavery, and brought to the light of civilization and christianity; yet they were not so enlightened and morally purified as to be capable of self-government. This fact was demonstrated by experiments. For when they remained, after their emancipation, with the people among whom they had been slaves, their liberty was so generally abused, that in the course of a few years, their demoralising influence was deeply felt, and their poverty and wretchedness became proverbial, and a source of great public expense. They were also regarded by the whites as an inferior race; and where their numbers were very considerable, jealousies often arose between themselves and their former masters, that

were very prejudicial to the best interests of both races. And when they were held in bondage after they had acquired the use of letters, they often concerted plans of insurrection; and although their designs were generally frustrated, or their insurrections speedily suppressed, yet it often happened that the lives of many innocent persons were sacrificed.

To instruct them, therefore, in the knowledge of letters, while they remained in bondage, or to liberate them where their numbers were very considerable, and allow them to remain among the whites, was considered dangerous both to themselves and to their masters. And in those cases when, after their emancipation, they were sent back to the land of their fathers, they were long dependent upon the people among whom they had been made slaves, for literary and moral instruction, and for the maintenance of civil government, and for all the privileges of freemen. And it was, indeed, only by the aid which they thus obtained, that they were preserved from returning to barbarism.

When the friends of our race were founding the colonies of the emancipated, on the shores of Africa, the people who were yet in bondage, were neither sufficiently intelligent nor sufficiently moral to be trusted with the privileges of citizenship among their masters; nor were they so far advanced in civilization as to be capable of being sustained in large numbers in the infant colonies. The number there to be guided and instructed, was always fully equal to the means that could be commanded for sustaining among them that moral power without which their liberty must have degenerated into barbarism. Though for many years the work appeared to progress but slowly, the founding of the colonies went on, and ultimately proved to be for the best interests of the colored race.

The means, for many years, of carrying forward their colonization, seemed inadequate. The destinies of their masters, by whom they had attained to the degree of civilization they possessed, had become so involved with those of their own, that they seemed inseparable. In addition to the difficulties already named, their masters had been so long devoted to their guardianship and management, that they had become dependent upon their labor for support. And they had acquired an interest in the product of their labor, as well from the cares and advantages they had bestowed, as from the prices they had originally given. Few of the human race, indeed, had ever arisen from a state of entire barbarism to the degree of civilization to which they had attained, at so small an expense: for even in their bondage, they enjoyed more comforts, and civil rights, and religious privileges; and a far greater degree of rational liberty, than they could possibly have maintained for themselves.

When, in ancient time, continued the aged man, the period had arrived in which the Divine Being had resolved to convert a

nation of slaves, and make them capable of self-government, he took them out from all other people, and by laws written with his own finger, and teachers miraculously sanctioned, he ceased not to instruct their youth, while he led them about for forty years, and until the carcasses of all whose habits had been fixed by age, had fallen in the wilderness.

And so, in like manner, when the infant colonies of our race were established in the land of their fathers, the people were but partially civilized: and to protect and sustain them there, and carry on and perfect their civilization, and to make them self-sustaining freemen, was a work of the Divinity. And to Him, through the instrumentality of His children of whiter clay, are we indebted for our present intelligence and virtue. Our people had existed only as savages for ages previous to their captivity, and although considerably improved by their bondage, they were entirely unfit for admission into the great political family of North American freemen. The blight of barbarous ages was yet upon them; and the mingling of the whites and blacks as free citizens of one common republic, under such circumstances, would have been injurious to both races.

To have permitted the colored people to exercise the rights of suffrage among the whites, would have been to introduce into the American Republic, millions of instruments fit only for the use of designing and selfish politicians, whose destructive measures were to be thwarted only by the ceaseless vigilance of their most intelligent patriots. To have allowed the colored people to remain among the whites without the rights of suffrage, would have been to deprive them of that exercise in political matters by which alone they could rationally hope to attain to the nobility of self-sustaining freemen.

Nay, but I enquired of thee concerning this monument, said the Dreamer, and I desired to know whether thou couldst inform me why there is no inscription upon the pedestal, to tell whose statue it bears?

And I said (replied the aged man), that one whose name is upon the hearts of millions, needs no epitaph on stone.

And I enquired again, continued the Dreamer, how her name came upon the hearts of others; and what deeds she could have done, that her memory should be cherished thus in after years?

The orphan girl, replied the aged man, was born to the inheritance of an estate of slaves. Scenes of servile insurrection and of slaughtered innocents occurred in the vicinity of her residence, and came nearly under her own observation while yet in childhood. Soon after that period her health began to decline. She seemed as a fair flower, in its earliest bloom, fast fading from the earth, and no one could tell why. She was thoughtful and was pious; and as she prayed for others, so she prayed for her servants also. It was all, indeed, that she could do for them: and

with pallid and lifted hands, and low, broken voice, she commended her numerous slaves to her God. In looking to the future, she saw no prospect of change for the better, and seemed as if without an object to live for. It was said that she was about to die, and yet she lingered, and pondered much, and reflected upon the things that had passed before her. She observed that the colored people in her native land, who had purchased their own freedom, were comparatively moral and intelligent; and that those who had obtained their liberty without personal exertion, were generally depraved and worthless. And she observed, also, that where the hope of freedom had been held out to the slave, with a reasonable prospect of his being ultimately able to attain to the object by proper means, the personal and mental exertions which had been called forth, were ennobling in their nature and tendency. And as she had observed that those who had purchased their own freedom, were comparatively industrious and happy, she resolved to give her own slaves an opportunity of purchasing theirs also.

In pursuance of this object, she persuaded other slave holders and capitalists to unite with her in forming a Company or Firm of co-operating guardians, for the purpose of enabling slaves to purchase their own freedom. The funds of the Company were chiefly expended in the purchase of slaves, and of new productive lands. And persons owning slaves, by conveying them to the Company, were allowed stock for them to the amount of their value. And all income of the Company over and above seven per centum per annum, upon the amount of stock, was accredited to the slaves according to their several abilities and earnings. And when such income, as thus accredited to a slave, amounted to a sum equal to his original valuation, he was emancipated.

The Company had five thousand slaves at its commencement; and the number of the acting agents of the Company who had charge of the settlement, were so considerable, and they were so well selected, that they formed a very pleasant and happy society among themselves; and especially so, in connection with the numerous stockholders, and others who often spent much time at the establishment, in witnessing its various operations, and in observing the happy change that was going on in the characters of their former servants. The slaves were taught numerous songs; and in these, their circumstances and prospects were contrasted with those of others of the human race, in the scenes of crime, and of blood, and horror, through which they have generally been obliged to struggle, while rising from the barbarous to the civilized state. And whether they walked by the way, or their hands were busy in their daily toils, their songs were often upon their lips, and served to beguile their labor of its drudgery, and to inspire their hearts with the most happy contentment for the present, and with the liveliest hopes for the future.

The intercourse of the sexes was duly regulated by Christian institutions; and all the kindly sympathies of the human heart were carefully guarded and cherished. The young and unmarried were generally instructed and employed at separate establishments, and were required to remain single during the period of their service, and of their education for liberty. And they were all instructed in the Christian religion, and in the mechanical and agricultural arts; and in the knowledge of letters, and the just principles of human government. And by these means they were gradually prepared to enjoy and to sustain that civil liberty to which they were daily looking forward.

The lands of the Company were very productive, and the most industrious of the people often obtained their freedom during the third or fourth year of their exertions. They generally continued to work for the Company, however, until their further earnings were sufficient to secure for themselves a comfortable settlement in the land of their fathers.

It was generally known, previous to the formation of the Company, that capital invested in slaves, and in new productive lands, usually yielded twenty per cent. per annum. And the Company, in addition to their usually profitable crops, found it practicable to attend to various other pursuits by which the children and infirm persons were all suitably and very profitably employed.

The orphan girl conveyed all her own slaves to the Company; and chiefly by means of her income from the stock thus obtained, she purchased the slaves with whom her own were connected in marriage, and disposed of them also in the same manner. After her own slaves, and their relatives were thus disposed of, she expended her income in purchasing and conveying to the Company such other slaves as were related and tenderly attached to each other, and had been separated from belonging to different masters.

The orphan girl was opposed in her course by those who held to inexorable and interminable slavery. And to all they could urge against her, she would only reply, that she regarded the colored race as *human beings*; and that inasmuch as she thought that aspirations after liberty were natural to mankind in general, and when properly directed, were ennobling in their nature and tendency, she could never think of entirely suppressing, or of wholly extinguishing in any human breast its last hope of freedom. And when, from her purchasing numerous slaves and conveying them to the Company, she was accused of making merchandise of human flesh and blood, and of riveting the chains of slavery by recognizing the master's right of property in his servants, she would make no retort; but meekly request her accusers to go and talk with those whom she had conveyed to the Company, and to learn from them whether she deserved a reproof so severe. From being an orphan, and having commenced these operations at eighteen years of age, and prosecuted them with an

energy, that from her very youthful and delicate appearance, seemed almost supernatural, she was frequently spoken of as the resistless orphan girl. No one could be offended with so sensitive and delicate a creature; and yet nearly all yielded to the force of her pathetic appeals. Even the few who opposed her movements, could not but admire the single-hearted devotedness with which she prosecuted her enterprise.

The stock of the Company soon acquired a character of stability which convinced the public that it was a safe mode of investing capital. And the improvement in the condition and character of the slaves was so great and evident, that the enterprise soon came to be regarded as both humane and patriotic. Many servants who were sold at sheriffs' sales, and at other public auctions, were purchased by the agents of the Company, and conveyed to its establishment. Many persons became weary of the management of their slaves, and embraced the opportunity held out by the Company to get rid of the burden. And from an inability to take personal charge of their slaves, and an unwillingness to hire them out to others, many owners conveyed them to the Company, and took its stock in exchange. And many who had long been desirous to dispose of their slaves, but had retained them from personal attachment, and regard for their welfare, were now enabled to part with them, with pleasure to themselves, and satisfaction to the servants. And many who had long been anxious to improve the condition of their slaves, gladly embraced the means held out by the Company as the most likely, in their estimation, to effect the object.

Thus, in various ways, the work went on, and company after company was established. The circumstances of men were changing; and with their circumstances their minds and habits were changing also. Many who had once thought that they could not live without slaves, often became weary of them now, and conveyed them to the companies. The stocks of the companies always commanded cash at par; and there were so many ways in which funds could be more safely and more profitably invested than in slaves, that their masters continued to convey them to the companies, and to take their stocks in exchange. And after thus disposing of their slaves, the masters generally sold or leased their extensive plantations in smaller farms to the laboring whites, who were rapidly multiplying and coming in from various quarters. The agents of the companies were in all parts, during this process; and as they gave as much for slaves as could have been otherwise obtained for them, all public markets for their sale were discontinued. In some cases, it is true, the masters and servants were so attached to each other, that they chose to spend their days together; but the great body of the young and unmarried of the slaves chose to obtain their liberty and to settle in Africa. The numbers who

remained were so inconsiderable, and were so well disposed, that they were safely trusted with most of the privileges of freemen.

By the exertion of the companies, and of a Colonization Society, extensive tracts of land were obtained in Africa, and suitable preparations were made for the reception there of the instructed and self-taught freemen of color, as from time to time they obtained their liberty, and returned ennobled to the land of their fathers.

When the work had gone on thus, for many years, she who, in her youth, had been called the resistless orphan girl, made a voyage across the Atlantic, in her decline of life, that she might set her eyes once more upon her former servants, and obtain more certain knowledge of their welfare. It had been hoped that the voyage might benefit her health; but her constitution was failing, and continued to decline. She lived to look upon the shores of Africa, the fair fields, and the prosperous and the happy people. To Africa she had been an angel of mercy: and now, upon the shores of Africa, was she received with a silent thrill of grateful joy. Those who had once been her slaves, had now become intelligent and moral; and they eagerly pressed around their former mistress, a band of grateful creatures. And she smiled upon them, and gave them her heart's best wishes. And when they saw that she was much changed and emaciated, and was worn away with cares, tears came into their eyes; and putting their hands upon their faces, they fell upon their knees by her side, and wept. And she looked up towards heaven, and then bowed her head in silent gratitude, and wept with the servants of her childhood and youth.

She lived to see many thousands of degraded human beings enlightened and elevated to a state of civilization, and to the enjoyment of rational liberty—of liberty obtained without the shedding of human blood—of liberty obtained by means consistent with the dictates of humanity, and measures fully sanctioned by the precepts of the great exemplar of mankind. She lived to see one of the greatest evils that had ever overshadowed her native land, passing away as a morning cloud. * * * * * And when her own spirit had passed away from the earth, she was so embalmed and laid in a leaden coffin, that no further change could pass upon her form and face, until awakened in the morning of the resurrection.

Yonder marble statue, continued the aged man, was sculptured from a gypsum bust that was made from life, soon after the commencement of her exertions in behalf of human nature.

There were a considerable number of the lower grade of the colored people, still continued the aged man, who could not be inspired with a love of true liberty, or made to comprehend its nature; and these remained for many years, as tenants at the establishments of the companies, where they were protected, and governed by just laws, and granted a liberty adapted to their in-

tellectual condition, and similar to that enjoyed for so many ages by the lower orders of the English freemen. In process of time, however, these people were greatly improved, and they finally joined their nobler brethren in the exercise of self-government on the continent of Africa.

As the early fathers of the American people left their native land for the sake of a liberty adapted to their religious and intellectual condition, so the colored people left the land of the whites to settle in Africa, where they were enabled to exercise themselves in the art of self-government, without being embarrassed by the presence of the whites, or circumvented by their superior sagacity. As the whites crossed the Atlantic, and commenced operations which resulted in the civilization of the continent of America, so the colored people crossed the same ocean, and founded institutions which resulted in the civilization of the continent of Africa. As the people of the American Republic struggled through many years of hard warfare to gain their independence and establish their liberty, so the people of color obtained their liberty by years of persevering industry. And as, in after time, the memory of their struggles for freedom, served to cement together and to sustain the Republicans of North America, so the recollection of their exertions for liberty, served to impress upon the minds of the African freemen, the vast importance of their civil institutions.

The Dreamer had listened to the man of Africa, whose hair was white with age, and had heard all that he had to say. And now, gazing thoughtfully upon the marble statue, he musingly utters—"who that had lived seven hundred years ago, and had looked upon that pale one as she appeared in the mountains, when she seemed as if the winds might have blown her away—who that had looked upon her then, could have thought that the destinies of millions were suspended upon the acts of a creature so delicate and frail!"

And still the Dreamer is looking upon that statue of the orphan girl: and she seems as if almost conscious of being gazed upon; and almost, as if the rudiments of a smile were playing upon her marble features. Her position seems changing—and instead of standing upon the pedestal, she appears seated—and with friends by her side! And suddenly a smile! that never could have played upon marble lips—and a look! that never could have beamed from sculptured eyes—thrilled upon the heart of the Dreamer, and aroused him to self-consciousness. And when he was come to himself, the Dreamer perceived that he was in the assembly-room at the White Sulphur Springs, in the mountains of Virginia; and he was told by a friend sitting near, that he had appeared for the last half hour, as if lost in revery, and with his eyes occasionally fixed upon the pale young girl who was sitting on the opposite side of the room; and of whom, he now recol-

lected, to have heard certain things, which, together with his own reflections upon the subject of slavery, must have led him on through the dream he had dreamed of the scenes of future years.

As the dreams of life usually pass away in a few fleeting moments, so the dream of the scenes of future years was now come to its termination.

The system of measures which it contains has been chiefly traced out by the supposed acts of one whose very appellation appeals to the heart for indulgence, with the hope that it may the more easily elude undue prejudices, and find its proper place in the reader's deliberate judgment.

Whether the Dream may yet live in the memory of men, and exert a favorable influence upon their interests, or pass away with the common dreams of life, time alone can tell.

The gay company of that assembly-room was broken up. The Dreamer's friend had left him, and the delicate young girl of the opposite side of the room, and those who were with her, had gone out; and the dancers and waltzers, and those who had looked on, had gone to their places: and the musicians had retired, and the lights were extinguished, all save one solitary lamp that stood dimly burning upon a table in a distant corner of the room. The night was far advanced, and the Dreamer, leaning upon the casement of an open window, sat musing still upon the dream he had dreamed.

And is it possible, said he to himself, that the race of our colored people may be returned to Africa, in a way consistent with the best interests, both of themselves, and of their masters? I have heard it stated that the expense would be so great as to render the idea entirely visionary; but is it visionary? It is most certainly known that slaves often earn more than a hundred dollars a year, over and above all expenses, when employed upon the most productive lands. This then being the case, if they were employed by suitable guardians, their earnings would soon pay their valuation and the expense of their removal to Africa.

The idea, then, so far as regards expense, is not visionary, for the thing can be done. And if so, then a just and consistent hope of liberty may yet dawn upon the darkened minds of the millions of our colored people, and exert an ennobling influence upon their moral and intellectual character. If the people of the most northern of the slave States were to grant their servants an opportunity of purchasing their liberty, the example might be successively followed by the States further south, until slavery should cease to exist in the Union. Though, in such a process, the separations which are now of so frequent occurrence between the colored parents and children, would still continue to take place, yet it would be under very different circumstances; for then their separations would resemble those which occur among

our white people, who send forth their children in the world to improve their condition, and with the hope of hearing of their greater happiness.

If the system of the self-redemption of slaves were carried forward with spirit, the holders of extensive tracts of new lands in the south and west, would find it for their interest to exchange them for stock of the companies. More than all the lands, now in the hands of these gentlemen, would be required for the operations of the companies, and would be brought into cultivation much earlier than by the extension of slavery; for large numbers of slaveholders in the more northern and less productive parts, who now retain their servants from an unwillingness to separate them and commit them to the care of strangers, would gladly part with them in a way so well adapted to promote their permanent welfare.

And should Texas, continued the Dreamer, maintain her independence, she may yet become the theatre where millions of our colored people may be prepared for freedom, and from which they may be returned to the land of their fathers.

And if the wise and patriotic of our country, still continued the Dreamer, were to engage in the self-redemption of slaves, they might soon enlist a vast amount of northern as well as southern capital, in the great work of human improvement, and save the country from the fearful consequences that may otherwise result from the *clashing* of the opposing measures of the two great parties now so fiercely contending upon the subject of slavery.

But who is to bear the burden of the first experiment? Must all the responsibility rest upon an orphan girl? And must she overcome the timidity of her nature, and venture alone upon the enterprise? Might she not shrink from the observation of the public, or be borne down with the apprehension of failure? Might not the cold and hard speeches, and the bitter sneers of an unthinking and selfish world come too severely upon her heart, and like the touch of frosted iron, congeal its fluids forever? Are there no persons to lead the way in this business, and save an orphan girl from the trial?

With the hope that such persons may be found, I must even resign the romantic idea of a resistless orphan girl, and permit it to pass away with the airy thoughts of former dreams: and the fair scene of the monument also, together with the beautiful statue of seven hundred years—all must pass away with this passing hour, even as the baseless fabric of a vision.

And while the Dreamer still sat musing thus, there came along by the window, in the bright moon-light, a very aged and gentlemanly man, and he paused for a moment, and stood leaning upon his staff, and looked about, as if in search of some person. But there was no one stirring, and he proceeded to the door of the as-

sembly-room, and walking in, passed on to the distant corner of the room, and seated himself by the table where the lamp was dimly burning. Opening a small book that appeared like a pocket Testament, he seemed for some time, as if studying the chart of an untried ocean of existence, upon which he expected soon to enter: and then, closing the book, he rested his brow upon the palm of his hand, and seemed the personification of serious and devotional thought.

Presently two young gentlemen passed by the window with hurried steps, and on looking in, at the door, seemed to have found the object of their search. They approached the venerable man, and one of them addressing him as "Grand Father," introduced him to the other as his friend Mr. B. just returned from a northern tour; and whom he had met on his arrival, and with whom he had been necessarily detained until so late an hour, in transacting certain business with gentlemen who were to leave early in the morning. And added that he had been concerned at finding him absent on his return, and had been looking for him.

The venerable man stated in reply, that he had been annoyed by the merry-making of the young men in the cabin adjoining his own, and that he had walked out to enjoy, for a few moments, the quiet of the deserted assembly-room.

They continue their carousing still, replied Mr. B., and I should be happy if you would accept of a bed in my cabin to-night.

I thank you, replied the aged gentleman, they will probably break up very soon; and as the air is mild here, and the room is very quiet, suppose you sit with me a while, and favor me with the news you bring from the north.

I shall be most happy to sit with you, replied Mr. B.; but as for news, I really have none worthy of being listened to. Perhaps your grandson, Mr. L., may have something interesting in the letters I have brought him.

I have heard you speak of your most intimate college friends, I think, said the venerable gentleman, regarding his grandson with an animated and benignant look, and should be happy to hear from them. The early friendships formed between the young men of the north and of the south, may well be cherished, for their natural tendency is to cement the happy Union of our common country.

I have received letters, replied Mr. L., from several of my college acquaintances, and they send me, as usual, their kind wishes and respectful compliments, &c.; but furnish me with little news.

Mr. H., of New York, however, lectures me upon the subject of my late investment, and writes me quite an essay upon the evils of slavery; and he assures me that I am bound by every

principle of morality and religion, to emancipate my slaves forthwith.

I should be happy to hear what your friend may have written upon the subject, replied the aged gentleman.

He has written so many terrible things, returned the young man, I can hardly think they would be agreeable to you.

If your friend were to address his terrible things to our servants, replied the aged gentleman, I should think him unworthy of the name of friend; but as he addresses them to ourselves, who are and must continue to be the sole judges in the case, I can perceive no impropriety in his frankly stating to us in a private communication, whatever he may really think upon the subject. The best of friends often say very plain things; and I think it generally wise to listen with patience even to the sayings of our enemies; for in their eagerness to injure, they sometimes overstep the mark, and furnish important information. Besides, very kind friends are often very enthusiastic ones; and most kinds of enthusiasts are very liable to have one-sided views of things. Or, in other words, such persons are often so deeply impressed with a distorted view of one side of a question, as to be nearly incapacitated for the reception of truth on the opposite side. However serious or extravagant, therefore, his views may be, I am disposed to listen to them.

The young gentleman then read so much of his friend's letter as related to the subject of slavery; but as it contained sentiments which gentlemen of the south would not willingly have publicly circulated among them, it is omitted. The chief points of the letter, however, may be easily comprehended from the following answer which the aged gentleman dictated at the request of his grandson:—

DEAR SIR: I presume that there may be slaves among us, who, as you suggest, may have heard the sentiment of which you speak, as contained in our Declaration of Independence; and that some of them may have thence concluded that they would be as able politicians as were the founders of our government. And some of them, perhaps, may have become entirely confident that they would make as good free and independent republicans as are even the northern advocates of their immediate and unconditional emancipation. But it is apprehended, by the most intelligent of our citizens, that the liberty of such republicans would soon degenerate into barbarism. Though all men are born with a natural right to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, yet it is proper to abridge the liberty of those whose freedom would be prejudicial to the general welfare. Until the slaves are better prepared for liberty than they are at present, I consider it far more judicious and humane to retain them in bondage than it would be to grant them their liberty.

The negroes of Africa, as well as the Indians of our own coun-

try, are born with as good a natural right, no doubt, to be free and independent republicans, as the best of us. But are they such republicans? are they such freemen? What avails to them, their natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, when an angry chief wills their death? or when the bloody tomahawks of lawless enemies are within their wigwams? and the death moans of their wives and children are mingling with the yells of the murderous foe?

For their freedom from such violence, our slaves are indebted to the guardianship of their masters. And so long as they possess neither the intelligence nor the integrity necessary to guard their natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, humane and intelligent masters are, no doubt, of greater advantage to them than any liberty they might be able to maintain for themselves. There are some of our more moral and comparatively intelligent slaves, it is true, who might, possibly, be capable of self-government, and who desire their liberty; but they know very well that the great mass of the slaves *require* the government of their masters; and, therefore, they would be unwilling to receive their own liberty on condition of having it in *common* with the entire black population, and of remaining in the country with them after their emancipation.

Although our slaves are as yet incapable of self-government, I think it must appear evident to any impartial and competent mind, that they have been benefited by their bondage; and whenever the relation of master and servant shall cease to be to their mutual interest, it is to be devoutly hoped that the colored people may be returned to the land of their fathers. Colonies are already formed on the shores of Africa for their gradual reception; and it is hoped that they may be prepared by the light of our example, for the important experiment of self-government on the continent of their progenitors.

On the subject of our southern *degeneracy*, I have to observe, that I think there must have been a very great falling off at the north, of late, on the score of courtesy at least, or that you could never have written so severely upon the degeneracy of our descendants in future ages.

Before you lecture us further upon the tendency of our institutions, you should look well to the tendency of the pursuits and circumstances of your own citizens. Were you to ask your own aged men of observant habits, what has become of the young men bred in affluence, and whom they knew in your city some twenty, thirty, or forty years ago, they would tell you that a large majority of them have either died in poverty or disgrace, or are now dragging out a miserable existence.

In relation to the emancipation of my slaves, of which you speak so freely, I have to make you a proposition. I have lately expended, as you are aware, the sum of \$100,000, it being the

entire amount of my patrimony, in the purchase of lands and slaves, the common property of the people where I reside. I might part with my servants, and leave them in the same condition in which I found them, and still remain worth \$100,000; but I now propose, in consequence of the solemn admonitions I have received from you, to give my slaves their entire liberty, as soon as you, my Dear Sir, who express so much concern for them, and are worth \$200,000, at least, shall step forward, and generously pay, according to your property, a just proportion of the expense necessarily attending so liberal a work; and shall engage, also, to pay any damages that may be sustained therefrom, either by the community of the whites, or by the slaves themselves. And as your just proportion of the expense will be less than \$70,000, you will be abundantly able to liberate some forty or fifty slaves more, and remain, after all, a richer man than myself. And when you shall have thus personally engaged in the performance of such works of supposed benevolence, the propriety and the delicacy of your insisting upon their being performed by others, will be far more apparent than under any other circumstances.

Very respectfully,

Yours, &c.

W. L.

As your suggestions, observed Mr. B., furnish my friend with an answer that ought to be very satisfactory to his northern correspondent, I should be happy to have you favor me with your assistance in my ease; for I have to contend not only with northern abolitionists, but with those also of my native England. My friends in the old country congratulated me upon my good fortune, when they learned that my late uncle had made me heir to his estate of lands and slaves in the United States; but now, since England has engaged in emancipating her slaves, they require me to follow the example. I have thought but little upon the subject, and am illy prepared to answer them; and should be obliged to you for your views of the matter.

The venerable gentleman raised his head, and with an animated look, he replied:—I am proud of old England, as the land of my ancestors. She has done much for the world: and well may the philanthropist and the philosopher, cherish the most profound respect for her wisdom, and for her noble acts. England has many slaves, however, both in Africa and the East Indies; and I have never yet heard of her attempting to enroll them upon the list of her apprentices; and I presume she will never think of doing so, until she shall have ascertained more perfectly what is to be the result of the experiment she is now making in the West India Islands.

I would not debar your English friends from the privilege of exercising their philanthropy, but would respectfully suggest, that there remains very great room for its exercise even in their own

country and provinces ; for after all that England has done to enlighten and benefit mankind, there are many grievous wrongs that are suffered, and a vast amount of human misery that is endured within her own dominions.

There are evils in all communities of human beings. Even upon "the sacred soil of Britain," as it is called, where it is said that the slave cannot breathe—even there, may an English freeman be seized by the press-gangs of the government, and secretly hurried away, and reduced to the slavery, and subjected to the privations and dangers of a British Man-of-War.

The emancipation which England is now effecting, by her apprentice system, is as yet but partial, and can be regarded only as an experiment, at best. It should be borne in mind, also, that what may be practicable with England, might be madness with us. There is a wide difference in the circumstances of the two countries, and in the character of their respective governments. The liberty of the republicans of the United States is very different from that of the subjects of the King of England. A large majority of the English freemen are taxed without being consulted upon the subject ; and they are governed by laws which they have no influence in making, and controlled by magistrates, whom they have no voice in appointing—and thus they exist for centuries without exerting the least political influence.

It is not so with us. The lowest of our freemen enjoy equal political privileges with the most exalted of our citizens. The party in our country who now call for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of our colored people, would soon require for them the rights of suffrage also ; and within a few years, at farthest, they would have the negroes and Indians of the country reckoned among the peers of the land ; and would have our most sacred liberties committed, in a great measure, to their guardianship ; or, rather to the guardianship of the interested politicians who might obtain the management of them.

If our congressmen were as much the representatives of the wealth and aristocracy of the country, as are the members of the English House of Commons ; and our Senators were as independent of the people, as are the hereditary legislators and lords of England ; and if our President were as divinely appointed as the King of England claims to be, and without the instrumentality of human votes ; and if he, together with lordly and priestly Senators, were clothed with a divine right and authority to restrain and govern freemen ; then, indeed, might our negroes be more safely elevated to an equality with our free members of the body politic.

The slaves whom England is endeavoring to prepare for British liberty, exist in distant islands, where they exert no kind of influence upon the great body of her own people : whereas our slaves are in the midst of us. The English have standing armies, and

by these, they can suppress disorder, and enforce obedience to their laws. England has a church establishment, and can teach religion and morality by force of law. She can build churches, and support clergy; and can make her degraded negroes a regular church-going people, simply by the exertion of her physical energies.

It is not so with us. We have neither church establishment nor standing armies. They would be inconsistent with the genius of our civil institutions. England is making an experiment: and we are to learn from the result, whether a degraded population of *free* negroes can be held in *subjection* to such laws as may be made *for* them. We, also, are making an experiment: and by ours, we are to determine for the civilized world—not whether the lower orders of mankind can be restrained by salutary discipline—not whether hordes of liberated negroes can be *subjected* to laws made *for* them—but whether civilized men are capable of yielding obedience to laws made not only *for* themselves, but *by* themselves. Ours is the experiment of *self-government*; and we make it, not only for ourselves, but in behalf of the entire race of man. Our success must depend upon the intelligence and virtue of the great mass of the free population. We have much to contend with, and many reasons to fear for the result.

Many of the States are so thinly peopled that it is almost impossible for their inhabitants to sustain among themselves the institutions of civilized society; and hence, many of their children are growing up without that intellectual and moral culture which is necessary to the support of republican institutions. And in our too great generosity, also, to the most ignorant and depraved classes of suffering emigrants, we have not only received them cordially, but have been urged by the very nature of our free institutions, to extend to them the rights of suffrage also; and by these means, we are permitting millions to take part with us, in our important work, who are entirely incompetent. And should they continue very greatly to increase, their numbers may ultimately endanger the republic. We have already quite enough to contend with, and causes enough for apprehension. But occupying, as we do, the only field of the world in which the doctrine of self-government can be fairly tested, we have the greater responsibility resting upon us; and are urged on in our experiment, by the most overwhelming considerations.

If from the classes of our population which I have already named, we have reason to fear for the result of our experiment, what might we not have to fear, if our millions of the colored race were added to their numbers, and formed thus into a still lower grade, if possible, of *free and independent republicans*! What might we not have to fear, if they were once let loose among us, with all their demoralizing and corrupting influence; and with all their depravity and ignorance and physical power! I venture to

say that there is not an honest slave among us, who is so far enlightened as to be at all capable of comprehending the subject, who would not shudder at the idea of being abandoned by his proper guardians, and left to struggle for his rights among such hordes of an unrestrained and but partially civilized people.

If our institutions were like those of England, we might establish schools and churches and standing armies among them; and might, perhaps, compel them to be orderly and industrious, and moral and religious; for the necessary expenses might *then* be defrayed by *tythes* and by *taxations*. But situated as we are, we have our hands full already; and want no more burdens, nor sources of corruption.

If we can but stem the downward current of the passions and prejudices of our white population, and disseminate so much intelligence and virtue among them, as may enable us to sustain the republic, we shall do almost infinitely more than has ever been done by any other people. If the great mass of our negroes were suddenly emancipated, large numbers of them would become the vagabonds of the country—disorganizing society in the south, and exciting contention among the laboring people of the north—corrupting the morals of the young by examples of unrestrained licentiousness—and filling the poor-houses and penitentiaries of our entire country with the victims of improvidence and of crime.

We have incompetent republicans enough already. By *incompetent* republicans, I mean those who, if they existed in a body by themselves, would be incapable of sustaining republican institutions; and who are entirely indebted, therefore, to others, for their privileges as freemen. The number of our *incompetent* republicans, is already sufficiently alarming. And who that is an intelligent patriot, would be willing to see their influence and their power so fearfully augmented, as they would be, if the great mass of the colored population of our entire country were added to their numbers? Who that is an intelligent patriot would be willing to see our common country laboring under influences that might reduce her to the condition of the South American republics? where republican principles exist only in the bewildered imaginations of the *commingled* races of men, whose liberties are to be found only under the gowns of their priests, or within the scabbards of their military chieftains.

The negroes and Indians of our country might make very *excellent* republicans for the *use* of the South American priests, as well as to answer the purposes of some of our own politicians who may find it difficult to *use* the whites in carrying forward their sinister designs. They might make very *serviceable* republicans for those politicians who loudly profess the purest democracy, while they inwardly sneer at the dupes they are making; but they would never answer for members of the great band of North American freemen, who intelligently and conscientiously believe in the

doctrine of self-government, and who are already too heavily burdened with incompetent members.

The slaves of our southern states already enjoy more liberty than they could maintain for themselves; and neither humanity nor religion, nor common justice, require us to endanger our own liberties for the enlargement of theirs. Were they liberated, they would not only be incapable of preserving their own liberty, but would endanger ours. And instead of having in our hands, the means of preserving to them their liberties, we should be in danger of losing that balance of moral and political power by which alone our own can be sustained.

Our slaves were introduced among us while we were yet the subjects of the British crown. Since the commencement of our free government, we have given them their personal liberty, in those States where their numbers were few, and they had been more favorably situated for improvement. It is questionable, however, whether they have been much benefited by their emancipation even there. Their liberty, like that of the lower orders of the British subjects, is but nominal; and our institutions are not adapted to the preservation of such liberty. Our institutions are not designed to benefit others by a State religion, or by force of arms; but to save ourselves by moral power; and thereby to hold up to the nations, an example that may cheer the hearts of their patriots, and encourage the souls of their philanthropists. Ours is the experiment of *self-government*; and we make it for ourselves, and for human nature, and for the world.

Where the majority of the people of a republic understand their true interests, and are honest and vigilant, that majority govern both themselves and their neighbors, for the general good. But where the majority of the people are ignorant, or are wanting in vigilance, that majority are not only themselves governed and scourged by their deceivers, but they are used as the whips with which their wily masters punish the most intelligent citizens for presuming to oppose their selfish designs.

It is necessary, therefore, to the perpetuity of a republican government, that there be a nearer approach to real and acknowledged equality among its members than exists between the white and the colored races.

In the States where the numbers of our colored people are small, they are favored with as perfect liberty as the lower orders of English subjects enjoy; and in States where they are less improved, and where their numbers are great, they are subjected chiefly to the authority of individual masters, instead of being subjected, as the lower orders of English subjects are, to the authority of a larger number of masters. Their condition is humble, it is true, but far better than it would have been, but for the very system of bondage under which they exist. As they are incompetent to take part with ourselves in the exercise of self-go-

vernment, we are using the only practicable means of elevating them to the condition of rational liberty; by making preparations for their ultimate settlement in Africa.

But my friends in England, replied Mr. B., say that slavery is *wrong*, and that as *Christians* we are bound to emancipate our slaves immediately, and regardless of consequences.

There is much in our world, replied the man of gray hairs, that is called freedom, that is little better than the most abject slavery; and there is much that passes under the name of slavery, that is as perfect liberty as the persons are capable of comprehending or of enjoying. Were I to visit the poorest operatives in the English factories, and to make to them the partial and one-sided representations usually made by all kinds of enthusiasts, I could so far work upon the kindly sympathies of their honest hearts, as to induce them not only to sign abolition petitions, but even to give a portion of their bitterly earned pittance, to aid in the liberation of our negroes. And yet, could those very operatives obtain the abundant supply of wholesome food which is enjoyed by my slaves, they would think they were living like lords. And could they be but favored with as great a degree of leisure, and of personal freedom from care and drudgery, as the meanest of my servants enjoy, they would feel like poor debtors let out of prison.

I regard it as an amiable trait of the human character, that the most miserable sometimes forget their own sufferings from sympathy for those whom they conceive to be still more wretched than themselves. A very large proportion of those who have lately joined abolition societies in our northern States, have done so, no doubt, with as kindly feelings, and with about as enlarged and comprehensive views of the bearings of the great question, as might be expected from the English operatives of whom I have spoken.

Your friends in England who say that as *Christians* we are obligated to emancipate our slaves, regardless of consequences, may be very good and intelligent people; and yet they may not have acquired all that knowledge of our institutions and circumstances which is necessary to the formation of a correct judgment upon the subject. There are many great and good men in England, and their opinions are worthy of being treated with respectful consideration. But others have lived in our world whose opinions are equally worthy of the veneration of *Christians*.

There was once a great and good man who was a Roman citizen: and he found a runaway slave, and taught him his duty, and sent him back to his master.

The epistle which that servant carried with him, on his return, was one of the politest and most conciliatory letters ever written upon any subject; and there can be no doubt but that it effected greater good both for the servant Onesimus, and for the master

Philemon, than could have been accomplished by the writing of a thousand letters of railing accusation.

The author of that letter was no sickly dreamer; but a true philanthropist: one who perfectly comprehended the nature of men, and understood full well, the cost and the value of civil and religious institutions. That philanthropist was a sound philosopher, and stood at the head of the Christian ministry, and taught that ministry.

He was, no doubt, as much in favor of liberty, as are even your English friends themselves; and yet he never required masters to emancipate their slaves regardless of consequences. He saw, no doubt, that greater evils than those of slavery might be apprehended from such a course. To some of his instructions upon this subject, I can readily refer you. And opening the small volume he held in his hand, he read from the sixth of the first of Timothy:

“Let as many servants, as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed.

And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.

If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doating about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that *gain* is godliness: from such withdraw thyself.”

These are the requisitions of that great and good man whom all Christians revere as divinely inspired; and they are lessons worthy of the attention of your friends in the old country who require us to emancipate our slaves regardless of consequences. I think that all intelligent Christians who are acquainted with our circumstances, and understand the nature of our civil institutions, will be disposed to be patient with us, and to permit us to enlarge the liberties of our slave population in such time and manner as may be consistent with the preservation of our own.

The Dreamer, who had all the while been leaning upon the casement of the open window, now arose with a view of approaching the little group, and of apologizing to them for having remained so long an unobserved listener to their conversation. But when he came to look about the room, he could perceive no light but that of the moon brightly shining through the windows. The lamp that had been dimly burning upon the distant table was gone out; and the aged gentleman, and his young friends, had disappeared. Whether they were real persons, or the mere phantoms of a second dream, the writer presumes not to determine.

If they be really living persons, however, and should discover any error in the foregoing, it is hoped that they will regard it as altogether unintentional on the part of the writer, as his sole object has been to give a fair representation of the sentiments of the aged gentleman of the south.

The sentiments of the aged gentleman are certainly very prevalent in many parts of the country; and after a careful perusal of them, the reader will the more clearly perceive, that the system of the self-redemption of slaves, as contained in the *Dream of Future Scenes*, is calculated to promote the interests of all parties concerned.

The immediate change contemplated in the condition of the slaves, would not only be better for them than hopeless slavery, but far more conducive to their permanent happiness, than even unconditional emancipation itself. The slaves could be more speedily and more effectually prepared for liberty by such a system of measures, than they could be while dispersed, as they now are, over a large extent of country, and under the control of a great variety of masters. And the system is calculated to benefit those, also, who have capital invested in slaves, and who desire to dispose of them; for they would not only obtain the full amount of their capital, but would enjoy the happy consciousness of improving the condition of their servants in the most effectual manner. And those who should still retain their slaves would also be benefited from the operation of the system; for the value of their labor would be advanced in proportion to the decrease of the number of slaves in the community. And by the same means, also, the slaves who remain in bondage, would be greatly benefited; for as their number should decrease, and the value of their labor advance, the distrust of their masters would give place to greater kindness and confidence, and to a disposition and ability to improve their condition. And the poor white people, also, would be gainers by the operation of the system; for as the number of the slaves should decrease and the price of labor advance, they would no longer be obliged to leave their native places, and seek for homes in distant parts—but would remain and multiply, and together with the increase from other States, would create a demand for the lands as the slaves should gradually disappear, and thereby benefit the rich as much as themselves, by enhancing the value of real estate.

And while the operation of such a system of measures, moreover, would gradually relieve the Union of our common country from one of the greatest embarrassments under which she now has to labor; it would pour a flood of light upon the continent of Africa, and bless the suffering tribes of that unhappy country, with the healing influences of the Christian religion. And if the friends of the African race were united in the prosecution of this work of human improvement, so conducive to the interests of all

concerned, the southern ministers of Him whose "kingdom is not of this world," would be greatly relieved from many embarrassments that often press heavily upon them; for while following the example of the apostles in preaching the relative duties of both bond and free, they are liable to be exposed to unworthy suspicions on the one hand, or subjected to the most intolerant accusations on the other.

The circumstances of the southern clergy make it peculiarly necessary that they be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves;" and those who have been the occasion of their embarrassment, and whose uncompromising spirit has excited the southern legislators to enact laws against the improvement of the slaves, will do well to inquire whether they might not adopt measures for the improvement of the colored people better adapted to effect the object, and more in accordance with the course pursued by the founders of the Christian Religion.

There are colonists in Africa, and a considerable number of free people of color in this country, who have purchased their own freedom. There have been masters in all ages of the world who have permitted their servants to purchase their own liberty; and there are now a number of gentlemen in the United States who are granting their servants an opportunity of accomplishing the same object. Some have failed in attempts of this kind, it is true; but it is believed by those who have examined the subject, that their failures have resulted more from the want of proper management, than from any insurmountable difficulties to be encountered.

For the purpose of testing more perfectly the practicability of the system of self-redemption, the author of the foregoing pages proposes to employ a number of slaves upon productive lands, and to manage them in a manner entirely consistent with the existing laws, until they shall have earned the sum of their valuation, with interest. The following is the form of the articles of agreement by which others co-operate in the business:

Whereas G. W. C. has designed a system of measures for the redeeming of slaves, and a number of persons desire to co-operate with him in the business, without making themselves individually responsible, as in a copartnership company; and whereas there might be for the present, considerable difficulties in the way of their obtaining a charter, as well as objections against their being incorporated, it has been determined that the business shall be conducted, for the present, by the said G. W. C.; and that by special articles of agreement made and entered into between him and the persons co-operating with him, he shall be bound to them, severally, to conduct the business according to conditions specified in the articles—and that they shall be individually bound to him, by the same articles, to grant him the use of a certain amount of

capital each to be employed in the business. Said capital to be secured to them by deeds of trust given by the said G. W. C. to gentlemen agreed upon by the parties for trustees.

And whereas W. L. of _____ is one of the persons who desire to aid the said G. W. C. in the redeeming of slaves, he and the said G. W. C. do hereby agree to co-operate with each other in the business, upon the following conditions:

1. The business to be conducted by the said G. W. C. in the manner hereinafter specified, and the said L. to be in no way responsible for his acts.

2. When the said G. W. C. shall have made such arrangements as he may judge necessary for the commencement of operations, the said L. to pay to his order the sum of _____ dollars, in _____ to be employed in the business.

3. Stock to be issued by the said G. W. C. to the said L., in shares of one hundred dollars each, to the amount of funds he may have invested in the business. Said stock to draw an interest of seven per centum per annum, except when from failure of crops or other causes, the income be insufficient. Stock issued in exchange for slaves, to be redeemed in current money by the said G. W. C. when the slaves shall have earned the sum of their valuation, with interest.

4. To secure to the said L. a permanent value for his stock, the said G. W. C. to give a deed of trust of personal property or of real estate, to the full amount thereof, to A. P. W. who has obligated himself to act as trustee for the parties; and to act in concert with others (holding similar deeds of trust from the said G. W. C.) as a prudential committee, in examining or causing to be duly examined, the books and affairs of the said G. W. C., and in making a true report thereof, quarterly, and sending the same by circular, or otherwise, to the several persons interested. All income from the sale of the products to be duly estimated annually; and from the sum total thereof, to deduct such amount each year as shall be equal to seven per centum upon the amount of property or stock employed in the business. And the balance of said sum, after deducting such interest, and the other necessary expenses, to be accredited to the slaves annually, and to go to pay the sum of their valuation.

5. The slaves to be granted such means of instruction, during the period of their service, as may be considered most useful to them, and as may be consistent with the laws of the States where they are employed. And when they shall have earned the sum of their valuation, the slaves to be removed to Africa, or elsewhere, out of the United States, previous to their entire emancipation. And when other means of removing them be inadequate, they are to be still held as slaves, nominally, until their further earnings are sufficient for their removal.

6. And in case of the death of the said G. W. C., the property,

whether in lands or slaves, as held by the trustees aforesaid, and employed in the business, to continue to be so employed by the successors of the said G. W. C. who are to be appointed thereafter by the committee of trustees aforesaid, and are to conduct the business in the manner required of the said G. W. C. in these articles, or as the trustees may then direct.

And hereunto the parties do bind themselves, each to the other, in the penal sum of — dollars.


There are many, no doubt, who will oppose the plan of self-redemption.

It has been said that there are individuals both in the north and the south, who desire to produce discord and enmity between the States, with a view to their ultimate separation—those of the north expecting greater security for their peculiar interests from a northern confederacy, embracing the Canadas, and the regions north and west; and those of the south, anticipating greater security for their peculiar interests from a southern confederation, comprehending Texas and the regions south and west—and all having alike, it is presumed, a considerable reference to the acquisition of political honors.

The continuation of the Abolition Society must be regarded as an important object, by all, whether of the north or south, who desire a separation of the States. It is but natural that they should look upon that body as *the instrument* by which they may hope to effect their object. And it is presumed that all such persons, whether of the north or south, will oppose this or any other system of measures that may be calculated to meet the approbation of the intelligent and patriotic part of the southern people.

The colored people of the north were held in bondage so long as in their wisdom the northern legislatures judged it most conducive to the general interests. And now, because our southern brethren are still acting upon the same principle, these Nullifiers of the north would hold them up to the abhorrence of mankind, through the instrumentality of the abolitionists, hoping, no doubt, that the bonds of the Union may be so weakened thereby, that they may be easily broken asunder in case the majority of the southern people should oppose the political measures with which their peculiar interests are identified.


And on the other hand, the gentlemen of the south who desire to sever the States, are equally intolerant. These men insist upon it that the members of the Society of Friends, and others in their States, who desire to get rid of their slaves, are to be regarded only as a sort of compound of weakness and hypocrisy, and are to be treated with utter contempt; and not to be tolerated at all, in any attempts to improve the condition of their slaves—or allowed to part with them on any other condition, than that of selling them into perpetual bondage.

It cannot be that all this, however, is without design; or, that these men are so ignorant of human nature, as to suppose that such conduct will have a tendency to lessen the number of the abolitionists. No, no. It is by these means that they hope to irritate the north, and to excite the deepest indignation in the minds of the abolitionists, and thus to blow them into a flame, that they may set fire to every thing combustible about them—and that they themselves may then hold up the Society as a scare-crow, to frighten their more timid neighbors out of their attachment to the Union. And by this courageous and *chivalric* conduct, they become the special  *defenders!* of the south; and are gazed upon as demi-gods by the reckless and depraved, who are ever ripe for any thing but the restraints of virtue. And armed with these, they stand, as with scourges of scorpions, ready to whip into silence any of their fellow citizens who may dare to give utterance to the noble sentiments of Washington or Jefferson, or of Madison or Marshall.

That great and good man, the late Chief Justice of the Union, gave it as his opinion, that the wisest proposition that had ever been made upon the subject, was that the revenue derived from the sale of the public lands, should be devoted to the redemption and colonization of the slaves, as from time to time their masters in the several States might desire their removal. It is presumed, however, that this proposition also, as well as the idea of self-redemption, will be opposed by all, whether of the north or south, who desire a separation of the States.

Should this experiment, however, in the self-redemption of slaves, succeed according to the hopes of its friends, it is thought that others may be induced to engage in the same business, and that the system may yet be carried to as great an extent as the claims of humanity and the interests of the Union may require.

Persons desiring to communicate with the author, will please address their letters (post paid) to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Washington, D. C.

 See advertisement on the *cover*, for the publication of the foregoing, in connection with the outlines of a new system of colonization and political economy, adapted to the state of the colored people.

THE BARGAIN CLOSED.—The Friend of Man contains a letter from Gerrit Smith to Rev. D. R. Gilmer, of Oneida County, N. Y. Mr. Gilmer, it seems, had said, that his friend, the Hon. Carter Braxton, of Virginia, would give up all his slaves, ‘baby slaves and all, about 30 of the latter, if Mr. Smith would pay for their transportation, and take care of them, when they should be received. This Mr. S. has promptly engaged to do. A fair test—we shall see now, who “backs out.”—*Christian Mirror*.

POOR HUMAN NATURE!

The Herald of Freedom, devoted to the cause of the Abolitionists, in its account of the Annual Meeting of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, held at Utica on the 20th, 21st, and 23rd of September, says:—

Among the resolutions adopted by the meeting, the following came up in course on Thursday evening :

Resolved, That we regard the scheme of the American Colonization Society with the disgust, indignation and abhorrence, with which we feel impelled to look upon its natural parent—American slavery.

It was read in the deep, melodious voice of the President—and no debate being elicited, the question of its adoption was put, and a tremendous *aye!* rang through the whole assembly. The negative was called. The house was silent as the grave-yards of Liberia. “*What,*” said the President, with a look and tone indiscribably sarcastic, “*is there no one to lift up his voice for the poor Colonization Society?*”

The President of this Society was our former most generous friend, GERRIT SMITH. Let us see what this gentleman thought and wrote of “the poor Colonization Society,” something less, we believe, than three years ago :—

“One of the most delightful, benevolent, and ennobling hopes, that ever animated the bosom of the American patriot, is that the western coast of Africa will yet be fringed with American colonies ; and that, under the influence of their happy example, the governments of all that benighted continent will come to be modeled after the precious free institutions of his own beloved country. Must this hope that Africa may be thus Americanized, be extinguished? Must even the dear colonies, which are now there, be broken up and scattered? Must the ‘abomination of desolation stand in those holy places?’—and idolatry again pollute the whole length and breadth of Liberia?—and the slave factories, which were once there, be re-established? Must the lights, which American patriotism and piety have for fifteen years been kindling up, on that dark coast—lights, on which the philanthropy of the world has fixed its gaze ; and, to which the eyes of thousands and tens of thousands of native Africans are already turned with joyful hope;—must these lights be put out forever? Must humanity fail of reaping a bright harvest from the precious seed, which has been sown there, at so great an expense of treasure and life? To all these inquiries the Anti-Slavery Society makes an affirmative answer; and manifests, in doing so, the sad effects of party spirit on the good men, who give tone to the Society. For what more striking proof could there be of these sad effects, than is to be found in this callous indifference to Africa?—This indifference is, indeed, eminently characteristic of that Society. Painful, as it is, that it should be so, it is, nevertheless, too easily accounted for to be surprising. It proceeds from the hostility of that Society to the Colonization Society. So much does it hate the laborer, that I had almost charged it with hating the field in which he labors. The benevolent men who lead the Anti-Slavery Society, once had sympathy for Africa. Where is it now? How little evidence of its continued existence, in the proceedings and organs of that Society! How little, in the conversation and prayers of its members! In colonization among the wilds of Texas and Canada, (*notwithstanding their abjurement of the very principle of colonization!*) they manifest a lively interest ; but with colonization, designed to strew the richest blessings among the millions of Africa, and, in which they should be unspeakably more interested, they have nothing to do—save to oppose it with all their might—and this, too, for no better reason, than because they are burning with hatred towards the agents, who carry it on.

“Again, we entreat these unrelenting enemies of the Colonization Society to reverse their judgment against it; peradventure they may be moved, in view of the unreasonableness, vindictiveness, and severity of that judgment, to reverse it. But if they shall still be inexorable to our calls on their justice and their Christian sympathy and forgiveness; if they shall still persist in demanding the unconditional destruction of the Society; and, if nothing short of this can appease their implacable malevolence towards it, then let them know that its friends are as determined

as its foes. Our determination is fixed—fixed, as the love of God and the love of man in our hearts—that the Colonization Society, under the blessing of Him, who never even ‘for a small moment has forsaken’ it, shall continue to live;—and to live, too, until the wrongs of the children of Africa amongst us are redressed; until the slave trade has ceased, and the dark coasts which it has polluted and desolated for centuries, are overspread with the beautiful and holy fruits of civilization and the Christian religion. And, as we fear the judgments of heaven on those who commit great sin, so we dare not desert the Society, and leave Satan to rejoice over the ruin of all this ‘work of faith and labor of love.’”

“A reproof entereth more into a wise man, than a hundred stripes into a fool.”

EXPEDITION FOR LIBERIA.

About ninety emigrants, all liberated slaves, from Virginia, are expected to sail from Norfolk, for Liberia, by the middle of November. Sixty of these are from the estate of the late John Smith, of Sussex County, and thirty from the estate of the late Rev. John Stockdell, of Madison County. Many of these sustain an excellent character, and several are members of the Methodist Church. The benevolent individuals who have, by will, liberated these slaves, have made liberal provision for their removal to the Colony, and for their support during several months after their arrival. They will be amply supplied with clothing, implements of husbandry, and provisions and hospital stores, while experiencing the usual effects of the African climate. From the Society they will receive lands of the best quality, promising to reward, with the most valuable products, their industry and enterprise, and will participate in all the privileges and blessings of a free community of people of color, unrestrained and unembarrassed by the presence and competition of another race.

A generous lady of Madison County, has given freedom to one of her servant men, that he may accompany his wife belonging to the estate of Mr. Stockdell; and it is probable that another, and perhaps several others, will be emancipated to accompany this expedition. A few other free persons of color, of respectable character, and who may be able to defray their expenses, may be accommodated in this vessel, on application at the office of the American Colonization Society, Washington; to Benjamin Brand, Esq., at Richmond; or to John M'Phail, Esq., Norfolk.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION.—The Executive Committee of the New York Colonization Society, announce in the New York Observer, of the 7th of October, that “about two hundred liberated slaves, residing in different States, are offered to emigrate for the land of their fathers; and that a vessel of suitable size has been chartered to sail from New York, about the 1st of November.” They earnestly invite donations to defray the expenses of this expedition.

MOSES ALLEN, Treasurer of the New York City Colonization Society, acknowledges the receipt of \$3,701 85, since June 16th.

INTELLIGENCE FROM LIBERIA.

By recent arrivals from Liberia, letters have been received from the Lieutenant Governor and several other individuals in the Colony. The general health of the settlements was good in July and August, and the improvements in agriculture are encouraging. Speaking of the Public Farm, the Lieutenant Governor states, "that so far as the products of the soil are a substitute for bread, he can supply all who are dependent on the Society." We observe that letters have been received in New York, bearing dates up to the close of August.—Dr. Goheen, who accompanied Governor Matthias, speaks approvingly and hopefully of the Colony at Monrovia, and adds that he is agreeably disappointed by the appearance of every thing around him. Miss Ann Wilkins, of New York, who also sailed with Mr. Matthias in the Charlotte Harper, after alluding to the pleasantness of the passage and the kindness of the Captain, adds:—

"I am delighted with these people. The society here seems to be in a prosperous state of religion, though temporal want pinches them on every side; from which many are suffering very severely. Rice, which is their main dependence, has failed this year, which renders it almost impossible to obtain a subsistence.

"I am told that at Caldwell there has been an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in the conversion of about forty souls. Brother Brown, from that place, has been here since our arrival, and gave a heart-cheering account of his school, in which he had about eighty scholars, who are advancing rapidly. Many, he says, who commenced in the alphabet since he commenced teaching, are now decent readers in the New Testament, and quite good writers, and are studying grammar, arithmetic, &c. He said he could have many more native children than are now in his school, if he could support them. The parents of as many as twenty native children had offered to bind them to him, or give them to him on any terms, if he would only take them under his instruction. Brother Brown told us that the people of a native town near him are very anxious for teachers. A native town, called Jack's town, near Monrovia, at which brother Scys had visited and taught the people, it is said, is advancing towards Christianity and civilization, inasmuch that they have renounced their 'greegree,' and refuse to buy and sell on the Sabbath. To these might be added many more very interesting particulars, if I had time, and did not fear being, or appearing to be, officious."

We here insert the most important parts of the letter addressed by Governor Matthias, of Bassa Cove, to the Rev. Dr. Proudfit :

We found all in good health in Monrovia, but in want of supplies. The Lieut. Governor, Williams, is well adapted, in my opinion, to his office.

I found the Colonists, who were destined for Bassa Cove, in a late expedition, had all landed at Monrovia, and were being acclimated, and doing tolerably well.

The copper coin I have received, for which an order is sent. I send, also, a specimen of Monrovia paper money. At present, I can give no opinion about a Bank or paper money, unless payable at home, as suggested by Mr. Buchanan; that plan would aid us much.

In one day, after leaving Monrovia, which was on the 3rd of August, we arrived at Bassa Cove; in the morning following the night of our arrival, we landed, under a salute from our little guns on board, and heavier artillery on shore. The military men were out, and received us quite *en militaire*.

I found Dr. McDowall well, and the Colonists generally; the Governor's house but partly finished, and the store empty. The carpenters are engaged on the former, and, as you may judge, the latter being filled.

Agriculture is attended to better than heretofore; the other day I saw a fine field of rice of ten acres.

Mr. More, a very respectable man, told me that, in a season of great scarcity, he supplied nearly the whole Colony, with vegetables from only one acre of land; so productive is the soil if well cultivated. The public will ask, why, then, do the

Colonists often suffer for the want of food? We reply, that many of them are not industrious; and without labor we can live nowhere.

The Society, they will allow me to say, must be particular in the selection of at least a majority of the emigrants, or we shall advance but slowly in carrying out the great objects of the Colonization Society.

The gardens look well; here and there you see a plantation with fruit. A bunch of cotton now lies before me—which I took from a tree in the garden of one of the Colonists. Bassa Cove is a most beautiful settlement: Edina equally so. The government-house is in a most delightful and picturesque situation; it stands on a mound of about an acre, commanding a fine view of the ocean, of the town of Edina, and of two fine rivers, as wide as some parts of the Delaware, between Trenton and Philadelphia. On the banks of the Benson, in the rear of the house, are a few of as tall trees as I ever saw, affording a beautiful shade; indeed, I must do Mr. Buchanan the justice to say, that he has shown great taste and judgment in his selection of a spot for both town and government-house.

On the 4th of August, I went over to Edina, and met the citizens in the Methodist Church; after they had appointed a Chairman and Secretary, I stated to them my instructions in relation to the traffic in ardent spirits, and that, if they were not prepared to abandon it, it would be of no use to deliberate a moment about coming under our government, as we could not receive them unless they complied with that condition. They at length, after some deliberation, resolved on attaching themselves to the government of Bassa Cove, (with the exception of a few, which have since come into the measure; I having informed them that they could not reside within our territories without taking the oath of allegiance.) I administered the oath and returned, and shall, as soon as convenient, organize them according to our laws.

The public farm, for the want of public funds, and on account of the sickness of the overseer, is not in the most prosperous way. I saw a few coffee plants, a few hills of Indian corn and considerable cassada; the latter doing well. Our farmer is engaged in sowing and planting the seeds we brought.

I was amused the other day by the simplicity of a Krooman. The Captain asked if any brandy and rum could be had on shore? he replied, "No, he not live there." One thing is certain, we have no intemperance here.

I am informed by Dr. McDowall, that up the St. John's river about six miles, is a fine healthy place for a settlement. I shall, by divine permission, soon examine it, and if it is suitable, hold a palaver with the King who owns it, and purchase it, as I have understood he was willing to sell it.

King Freeman, of Young Sesters, dined to-day with us, and I am informed that the neighboring kings are waiting till we get settled, to pay their respects. Freeman wanted rum very much; he appeared much surprised to find it not *American fash*; thought it not good fash; says he will send his son and daughter to learn book. He remarked that the good spirit had given us, and not black man, the book. We took occasion to show him that God loved him as much as the white man, and that he had sent the white man to teach black man the book.

Some of my abolitionist friends expressed a desire to hear from me, doing me the honor to say they would believe *me!* If the information is worth giving, you will please say that now I see with my own eyes, and hear with my own ears—that instead of changing my views, I am more a Colonizationist than ever.

Give us some of your best colored men—men of some property, religion and enterprise—and I would answer for the cause of Colonization. What could not a little Yankee enterprise, industry, and economy, do here? What a garden might this country become! How soon would civilization and the gospel spread; until

"The dwellers in the vale and on the rocks
Would shout to each other, and the distant mountains
Catch the flying joy."

My very respectful and affectionate salutation to each member of the Board of Managers.

We are sorry to learn that severe indisposition has prevailed among certain emigrants who sailed in the Orient from Mississippi, and who, *without any notice given to the Parent Board*, were left at Monrovia.

The Rev. Mr. WILSON, Missionary at Cape Palmas, writes to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in February last:

"We are gratified by the fact that the people under our charge and instruction are now in great numbers suspending their ordinary labors and amusements on the Sabbath, and are avowedly determined, for the future, to be constant attendants upon religious instruction. Last Sabbath I preached to them in the open air; and although this with them is the most busy season of the year, I had an audience, as it was supposed, of six hundred persons. At the close of the remarks, a venerable old man, of three score and ten years, rose up and smote his breast, saying, 'He has spoken the truth, and we never heard it before.' Next Sabbath I am to preach to them on a subject of their own selection, the evidence of the authenticity of the Bible, and the circumstances and manner of its communication to mankind."

One week later, Mr. W. adds:

"We conscientiously believe that the inquiry has sprung up in the hearts of many of them, What shall we do to be saved? Last Sabbath I exhibited to them some of the proofs that the Bible was God's book. The audience was about six hundred, and I do not know that I ever saw a more orderly, more attentive assembly. Next Sabbath I am, by request of a leading man, to tell them as he says 'all about Jesus Christ.'"

Mr. WILSON speaks with deep regret of the decease of Mr. Polk, an excellent colored teacher, who, he observes, "really loved the souls of the heathen, and labored faithfully, in various ways, to secure their salvation. His patience and fortitude never forsook him, and his dying language was, that the unfolding glories of heaven were unutterable."

EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

From a gentleman in Virginia.

BREMO, SEPTEMBER 20, 1837.

My Dear Sir: Permit me to congratulate you and the friends of African Colonization, upon the improving prospects of our scheme, the mad efforts of ultra abolitionism to the contrary notwithstanding. I have long foreseen that this unaccountable movement of perverted humanity, (to say the best of it) would soon pass away with the exploded errors of the day. And late developments are proving the correctness of my anticipations. A few years more, and all christendom will be united in doing justice to the enlightened policy and humanity of the scheme of African Colonization.

I send herewith a check upon the Bank of Virginia, for my annual subscription to the Gerrit Smith Fund.

From the Secretary of the Ladies' Society of Georgetown, D. C.

GEORGETOWN, OCT. 13, 1837.

J. Gales, Sen., Esq.—Sir: It is with great pleasure, I send you the above check, at an earlier period than we have before been able to make our payment to the Parent Society; and hope there is now sufficient interest felt in the cause to enable us to be more punctual in future. Sincere wishes for the continued prosperity of the Society.

NOTICE.—The Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society will be held in this city on the 12th of December. All Auxiliary Societies are earnestly requested to represent themselves by Delegates at this anniversary.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Col. Society, from Sept. 20, to Oct. 20, 1837.

Gerrit Smith's Plan of Subscription.

Gen. J. H. Cocke, Virg. his 8th instalment,	-	-	-	\$100
Female Colonization Society, Georgetown, D. C. by Miss English, Tr.	-	-	-	
its 8th instalment,	-	-	-	100
Robert Gilmor, Baltimore, his 9th instalment,	-	-	-	100
Ex'rs of the late Robert Ralston, Philadelphia, the bal. of his subscription,	-	-	-	800
Do. of the late Thomas Buffington, Va. do.	-	-	-	300

Collections from Churches.

Alleghany County, Pa. Rev. John K. Cunningham,	-	-	-	17
Concord, Mass. 1st Religious Society, Rev. Ezra Ripley,	-	-	-	10
District of Columbia, contributions to Rev. C. W. Andrews,	-	-	-	38 95
Harrodsburg, Ky. Methodist Church, Rev. Geo. M'Nolly,	-	-	-	10
Romney, Va. Presbyterian Church, Rev. W. H. Foote,	-	-	-	15

Donations.

Gillespieville, Ohio, Abner Wesson,	-	-	-	8
Lewisville, Chester District, S. C. Wm. Moffatt,	-	-	-	30

Auxiliary Societies.

Fredericksburg, Ohio, Auxiliary, Wm. F. Smur, Tr.	-	-	-	25
Talmadge, Ohio, do. D. Upson, Tr.	-	-	-	29
Virginia, do. do. B. Brand, Tr.	-	-	-	130

Legacy.

Payment from the estate of the late Wm. H. Ireland, New Orleans, in notes at one, two, and three years, for sale of property,	-	-	-	6166 66
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Collections by Rev. David H. Coyner, Agent of this Society.

Morefield, Va. Pres'n Church,	-	-	-	21 40
Hardy ———, donation from A. Wetton,	-	-	-	5
Greenbriar County, Rev. John M'Elhenney's congregation,	-	-	-	19 50
Monroe County, Union, Presbyterian Church,	-	-	-	21
Augusta, do. Rocky Spring do.	-	-	-	5 30
Kanawha do. Charleston do.	-	-	-	15
Greenbrier County, Va., Spring Creek Church,	-	-	-	30 25

Collections by Dr. Skinner, late Gov. of Liberia.

Ashford and its vicinity, Connecticut,	-	-	-	14 25
Framington, Mass. Baptist Meeting-house,	-	-	-	6
Worcester, do. (besides a gold ring),	-	-	-	18 54
Oxford,	-	-	-	2
Wethersfield, Conn.	-	-	-	5 78
Middletown,	-	-	-	39 61
Essex, Saybrook, Capt. Champlin,	-	-	-	10
Rev. Mr. Doty,	-	-	-	75
Hebron,	-	-	-	2 85
Colchester,	-	-	-	2 48
Malborough, Conn. Samul F. Jones,	-	-	-	5
Lebanon, Exeter Society,	-	-	-	6 50

\$8,113 82

African Repository.

Abner Wesson, Gillespieville, Ohio,	-	-	-	2
Dr. Amos C. Wright, O.	-	-	-	6
Wm. Moffatt, Lewisville, Chester District, S. C.	-	-	-	2
John D. Haskell, Weathersfield, Vermont,	-	-	-	6
Elizabeth Gallup, Hartland, do.	-	-	-	10
Landonia Randolph, Powhatan Co. Va.	-	-	-	2
Hon. J. W. Allen, Cleveland, Ohio,	-	-	-	5
B. G. Easton, Agent,	-	-	-	41 18
E. Brown, Philadelphia, Agent.	-	-	-	40
J. D. Butler, Rutland, Vt. per Hon. Wm. Slade,	-	-	-	2

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